The Reply

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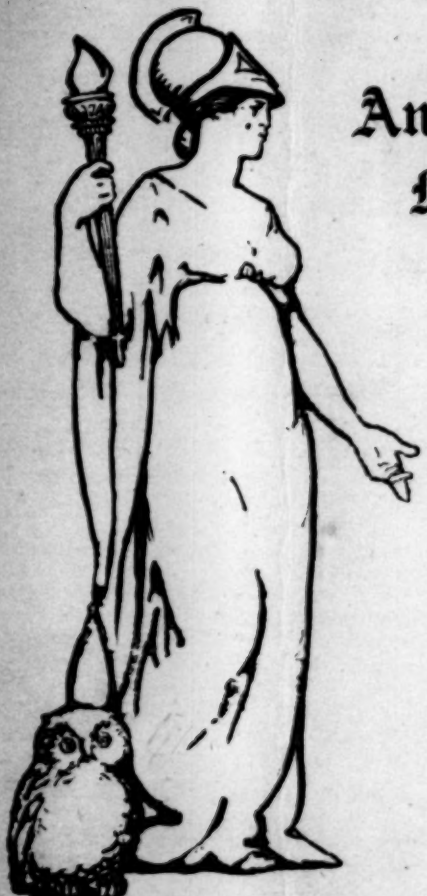
An Anti-Suffrage Magazine



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The Reply

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The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

November, 1913

EDITORIAL

ENGLAND'S experience in the Woman Suffrage movement certainly should be of educational value to this country and it may not be amiss to study the methods of the Anti-Suffragists in the older country. We are apt, thanks to the lurid headlines of our yellow journals, to picture an England downtrodden and overridden—powerless against a body of lawless Amazons. How often we hear it said, "What is the English government thinking of?" Where is the boasted strength, even the reputed brutality of the Englishman? We, of America, are rarely students of the methods of other governments, but as chronic organizers of associations and clubs with a purpose, we can appreciate the power that exists in organization. It is the organization which has arisen in England—the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage—that is well worthy of our consideration and study, both in its personnel and methods. For the former we turn to our list of Anti-Suffrage Associations with satisfaction. In the League's organ—The Anti-Suffrage Review—we read, in an article, "The Success of the Anti-Suffrage Campaign," as follows: "In passing, the point may be emphasized that in the past the Woman Suffrage movement has gained much of its momentum through the indifference of the Anti-Suffragists as a body." In England, as in America apparently, politicians have influences brought to bear upon them, that practically commit them to redeem promises that they had hardly comprehended, but in England, it continues, "that is a thing of the past and candidates for Parliamentary honors now are made aware, beforehand, of the noose into which they are invited to slip their heads, the result of which is, that at a whole series of by-elections recently, hardly one candidate would look at Woman Suffrage. The N. L. O. W. S. can hardly be blamed then for resolving that not even by means of pilgrimages shall the people of this land have distorted and one sided views on this great question put before them to digest, without providing the antidote; and the outcome has amply justified the League in attempting, though with quite inadequate means at its dis-

posal, the organization of meetings on some of the pilgrim's routes. Never, for the future, will the N. L. O. W. S. agree to leave the Suffragists in possession of the whole kingdom; it will be stoutly contested inch by inch; propaganda and demonstration must be met with not less vigorous work, and if the result is anything like what has been Anti-Suffragist experience on these pilgrimage routes, the supporters of our cause will never know what it is to be down-hearted. . . . The Anti-Suffragist counter demonstrations have afforded the League's emissaries an opportunity of seeing the great volume of opinion there is in favor of its policy in the least expected places. Unfortunately, the success of our work has a tendency to react against continued successful organization. While the enemy is planning the next campaign, many Anti-Suffragists are sleeping in the blissful delusion that the battle is won once and for all. This is the greatest, and indeed almost the only difficulty Anti-Suffragists have to surmount."

How applicable to present conditions in America is the reference to the indifference which is leading us into the wake of the imported Suffrage movements. Where is the American spirit of our forebears, which would have resented the invasion of our land by this feminist movement lowering all the standards, which have been the foundation of the republic?

The English women who are working to save their country from the evils of this Suffrage movement puts us to shame. Are we—men and women who are opposed to Woman Suffrage—watching our politicians, following up promptly the misrepresentations made to them in regard to the will of the majority? What counter demonstrations are we making to offset the spectacular well-advertised efforts of the Suffragists? American women have expressed astonishment that there was no opposition in England, and it is not unusual to hear in our own country the query—Why are we not working to stop the influence of the Suffragettes? Is it not vital that we should strain every nerve to work and publish our existence in no uncertain tone? We "must provide the antidote" with as much self-denial, courage and co-operative effort as have the Anti-Suffragists of England, who having organized but five years ago, now number over fifty thousand men and women, determined that their country shall not have a distorted view of this important question, and boldly announcing that never again will they agree to leave the Suffragists in possession of the whole kingdom.

IS IT possible, one may well ask, that the women of America, 92% of whom are either actively opposed, or yet to be heard from, on this vital subject (National American Suffrage Association claims but 8% of the women of the United States) are doing nothing to stem the current of this really unpopular feminist movement? Far from it. In every State an earnest body of workers is to be found, and it is due to their wonderful activity, as is the case in England, "with quite inadequate means," that the evil of Woman Suffrage has not stolen into the saner, and more conservative States of the Union. These women are working harder than their sisters, who all know, sympathize with their efforts, realize the enemy is attempting to take from us our constitutional right of exemption from political burdens, and this vanguard of women is fighting for all. It

is true that the indifferent woman, the idle woman, and above all, the thoughtful working woman should arouse herself and consider the danger to all we most prize, and realize that every woman must not only give her support to the workers, but must study and give time to this question which is stirring all Legislatures, and be prepared to both work, as well as give her reasons "for the faith that is in her."

THE press agents of the Suffragists are doing all in their power to convince the American public that the Suffragists of this country are opposed to militancy and are only accepting Mrs. Pankhurst as a martyr to a noble cause. It is difficult, on the face of it, to look upon the lady in that light. Somehow we seem to see a stronger tendency to commercialism than martyrdom, and that the acceptance of Mrs. Pankhurst, notwithstanding the efforts of the Suffrage press to give it another meaning, does endorse militancy. Was not the vote against constituted authority the first step in the militant movement in England? It is a straw that shows which way the wind blows, but it shows the direction in which large bodies can be swept by that power. A Suffrage lawyer is quoted in the New York Times as saying, that she will lead a delegation of women to Ellis Island and take Mrs. Pankhurst off the ship by force and "if it is necessary we will toss all of the men on duty there into the upper bay." The threat of one unknown woman you may hear said! What does that amount to? Remember the straw. One of the largest financial backers of the Suffragists, and an undoubted leader of the cause, Mrs. Belmont, expressed, according to the New York Times, the keenest delight at a proposition that the "martyr" should try to defy the United States authorities by entering the country in disguise. Dr. Anna Shaw refused to speak on the platform with the "martyr," but what is the reason given for thus losing the opportunity to tell the world, her real views of the attitude of American Suffragists to militant methods? Simply because she is not to receive $1,000 for this address. Suffragists may say that the "cause" must have the money, but it would seem to us that the American Suffragist is "showing her hand" also, and that commercialism and Suffrage are walking hand in hand, in both countries.

The New York Evening Post has this bit of news which gives us further ground for our conclusion that the underlying spirit of Woman Suffrage is the same in both countries: "A protest has been made against the Cat and Mouse Act in London, by United States Suffragists. It has been sent to the Home Secretary, Reginald McKenna, from Washington."

AS A reply not infrequently raises a question, so THE REPLY opens its Suffrage canvass on another page and asks its readers to answer according to their convictions—whether or not they want Woman Suffrage in the United States. This is not a question to be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders and the often heard remark, "Oh, well, if they want it, let them have it, I don't, but then I won't vote," or, as is now becoming a by-word of both parties, "It's got to come, why bother?" this last being a very false prophecy. THE REPLY, though but in its infancy, has reached many thousand men and women, and will

be found in many more homes in the coming months. If every subscriber will answer and return the slip containing the question printed in this number, "Do you want Woman Suffrage?" and as each following number is issued, ask some friend to do the same, we will secure the opinion of a large number of people and materially help the cause of Anti-Suffrage, for while it is the experience of all workers that the majority is opposed to Woman Suffrage, it is important that the opposition has the proof to show. Answering this question does not commit the signer to any work. It is merely a statement of an honest conviction which at the end of six months will be printed in THE REPLY.

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Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of October, 1913.

ROBERT B. MORSE, Notary Public.

New Canaan, Conn.

Too Much Sex in Literature

Literature is oversexed. If we were to believe the fictionists and the playwrights, sex is the one morbid, absorbing and exclusive topic of thought and conversation. It is a misrepresentation of fact. When God created man He made him to the likeness of God. Male and female He created them. The revolt against the order of being and the blurring of natural and inevitable distinctions by a would-be new species of women-men and men-women is surely a melancholy sign of decadence both intellectual and moral.—The Universe.

Suffrage in Illinois

The arrival in this country of the American papers dealing with the introduction of Woman Suffrage in the State of Illinois serves to clear up several misconceptions. What the women of Illinois have secured is the right to vote for all offices not mentioned in the State Constitution. They may vote for Presidential Electors, Mayors, Aldermen, Municipal Court Judges, Sanitary Trustees, and most local officers; but they may not vote for Governors and other State officers, Members of the Legislature, County or District Judges, Congressmen, or United States Senators. The Act provides also that women may vote "upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of Municipalities or other political divisions of this State, and that separate ballot-boxes and ballots shall be provided for women" It is, therefore, not correct at present to call Illinois a Woman Suffrage State, on a level with the nine others west of the Mississippi. As far as the State itself is concerned, they have not been given the parliamentary vote. The press of Illinois makes it quite clear that the reason for this hybrid type of Suffrage was that the Suffragists knew that any proposal entailing a referendum to the people had no chance of being carried. According they took refuge in a Statutory Act, and by dint of strenuous lobbying carried their measure. "The constitutionality of the enactment," however, we learn from one newspaper, "will be tested in the Courts." Illinois' record shows that Anti-Suffragists have to guard against being caught napping.—The Anti-Suffrage Review, England.

Suffrage Morality

By J. T. W.

MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN has been in our country lately, preaching the New Movement.

What Suffrage means to her is fully set forth in her novel, "Interplay," in which some very much diluted and sentimentalized Ibsenish characters solve life by the very simple process of hitting every head that shows itself. It is all the "real think," according to Miss Harraden, and we have a weak-tea edition of all Ibsen's situations given us as truly original feminist thought. There is the lady with a past making an honest marriage with the gentleman, also with a past (see the Wild Duck), there is the girl leaving her home and braving the social conventions to go and lunch with two ladies, she does not know, without her mother's knowledge (a very much expurgated Rebecca West or Hilda Wangle). There is Margaret Tressder, who is bold enough to be fearlessly rude and insulting to her aunt, an old lady of eighty and independent enough to refuse to do her duty by her (see Hedda Gabler). Duty, Miss Harraden considers, is a ridiculous word. "In the bright lexicon of youth there's no such word as 'duty.'" This is good Suffrage doctrine. All Miss Harraden's women of course, are what Miss Addams calls "self-directed." When the Ibsenish young girl is beginning to fall in love with a half-witted violin maker, whom she believes to be the "real thing" ("My-my, Master Builder"), her uncle tries to give her a hint, and she replies, "You dear old thing! I do believe you are trying to guide my footsteps. How funny!"

The "emancipation" episode of Bess sounds like a page from a school girl's diary, and would amuse or disgust a sensible American girl, accustomed to the exercise of reasonable freedom. The idea that a young girl, without experience can judge character and entirely ignore the wishes or opinions of the parents who provide for her, is peculiarly Suffrage and also very old-maidishly sentimental. Where this wonderful independence leads, we see in Harriet and Margaret. Harriet is a "gallant," "generous" "noble" woman, who married a man she cared nothing for, to escape "her guardian's depressing household." She then "escaped from the deteriorating condition" of her marriage into "an atmosphere of love." "A return to her rightful atmosphere, an atmosphere to which her darling father had belonged and her young mother, too, and which was therefore her birthright. She had been the honorable wife of a low beast and the honored mistress of a chivalrous gentleman, and on her knees she had given silent thanks [for her second state]." (The bracketed words are Miss Harraden's). We are given to understand that there was no middle course possible between marriage to a "low beast," and being the mistress of a "chivalrous gentleman" to anyone of Harriet's nature and in Harriet's circumstances, although Harriet is a woman of "independent means." If she had not had "independent means" she would have drifted into an irregular mode of life. "I, too, should have drifted in that direc-

tion if I had not had independent means," she often said to Margaret. In looking back, she knew that she could not have acted differently, with her nature and those circumstances. If she had had a different nature, or if the conditions of her life had been more propitious, she would not now be a divorced woman, yearning, in one sense, to get away from her past, insisting to herself on the indisputable right of every human being to pass unchallenged, and yet longing for a record that would bear close scrutiny. But the fact remained that she was a divorced woman, through her own choice.

In short, all women are victims of circumstances and their own impulses. It is therefore useless to repent what had to be. We merely "pass on," leaving all that is disagreeable, or humiliating, or dutiful behind us. "A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind" and we become more and more tolerant and our households are centres for anything that is at war with the social order. Is not this an old old story? Harriet finds a champion in a simple-minded Arctic explorer, who administers a sound thrashing to the former husband —neither of the militant ladies being quite equal to that task. Everyone joins the W. S. P. U. and the curtain falls on a new order of things, in which everyone finds freedom but Harriet's Chinese cook, who it seems remains essential to Suffrage comfort. Bess often remembered that lunch afterwards: fried sole and a delicious roast fowl, grated chestnuts and cream and a cheese souffle, cooked to perfection; sparkling moselle and the ever smiling Chinaman—all important items, but, the most important being the easy interchange, without strain and without the effort of having to live up to something vaguely and exactingly wonderful! It was a delightful time, and helped on the emancipation in a marvelous fashion. Harriet's and Margaret's atmosphere one sees was pleasantly relaxing. They had an elastic and very tolerant system of ethics, so though of course Margaret "dearly desired to know whether Ermyntrude had sanctioned her daughter's visit," her "sense of fair play" and her "own dignity," forbade her inquiring.

Margaret develops cancer later on and commits suicide. In spite of much brave talk the poor woman seems to have been incapable of earning her living except in the dreary position of companion to a woman of means, or by the poorly-paid and precarious profession of palmistry, and although Miss Harraden points out that an efficient companion is hard to get (the old aunt tried eleven), "they all had spirit. They all had opinions, very strong opinions." Number three disliked reading aloud, number four disliked the dog, number five disliked cards, number six disliked Mecklenburgh Square, number seven disliked the servants, the four remaining disliked everything. She does not clearly prove, that it is because women are now too busily employed in directing banks or ruling provinces, to apply for the position. On the contrary, she gives the impression that inefficiency is now coupled with impertinence, that the salary no longer implies the service, not because women have risen to a higher grade of work, but rather because they have fallen on a lower standard of obligation. Nor are the principles governing companion's wages, materially altered by the disproportionate offer of Margaret's aunt. Neither is one able to understand why she refuses to consider any of the peculiarities of a woman of

eighty, nor her bullying, sarcastic manner to helpless old age, no matter how benighted. Miss Harraden, in her adoring imitation of Ibsen, forgets that Ibsen's neglect of his parents was the regret of his declining years. There is, of course, some truth in the picture Miss Harraden gives of Sparrowbird and her tyrant. What Miss Harraden forgets is, that tyrant and slave react on each other and that neither is blameless. Also that the Suffrage movement is rich in both developments—within one sex—just as Miss Harraden shows woman tyrannizing over woman in two cases—or three, if we include Margaret. Suffrage contains no solution, if it means what Miss Harraden thinks it means, which we concede to be true so far as it goes. The situation would be more interesting, if more courageously handled. The complete capitulation of Aunt Caroline and Ermyntrude is scarcely convincing, nor is there anything to prove that Bess, under the influence of modern militancy, would have stopped where she did. The theory that all young women are capable of "self-direction" will not bear investigation. Troops of them are blindly obeying Mrs. Pankhurst today, and the sad statistics of Florence Crittendon homes, give ample evidence of the fact that girls still need parental protection, guidance and control, in America at least. Miss Harraden speaks as an irresponsible woman—if not, as a woman with a political axe to grind. As a matter of fact, English militants are the least "self-directed" of all modern women. They are directed and controlled by Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, and neither parent, employer or husband, would dare to demand of women such sacrifice and such blind and criminal obedience as these ambitious leaders do. We are somewhat weary of foreign demagogues—male and female. Freedom is not found in unduly influencing the young, nor in the destruction of property, nor in insulting the aged, nor in breaking the moral law.

Father's Day

So Father is to have a day,
  If Congress will permit.
For four-and-twenty hours he
  Will be supremely It.
They'll tell of all the good he's done,
  On Pa they'll throw the lights.
Yes, Father's Day seems all O. K.,
  To speak not of his nights.

'Tis only fair that he should have
  A little well-earned praise,
And join the list of other folks
  Who all have special days.
He's worked and toiled with all his might
  To serve his family good,
Though handicapped and baddly rapped
  By increased cost of food.

Yes, Father's always on the job,
  At work he's ever found.
He has to be—it's up to him
  To make the wheels go round.
He doesn't have much idle time,
  He seldom stops for play—
A hero, he, who seems to be
  Entitled to a day.

So, here's to Father, though at times
  His manner may be gruff.
Remember, it's no easy task
  To hustle for the stuff.
He doesn't ask for any praise,
  But, surely, some is due—
Let's have a day, to throw him, say,
  A small bouquet or two.

TOM W. JACKSON.

A World Without God

By Caroline F. Corbin, President of the Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

HUMAN society is constructed along divine and irrefragable principles; Socialism is man-made and proposedly takes no account of God's word or work. It is no wonder, therefore, that there is a perpetual and insoluble clashing between them. As for the latter being an improvement upon the former, that is absurd. In fact, it does not pretend to be so much an evolution as a revolution. An upsetment of all the ways of creation and a substitution of what the so-called philosophers of the eighteenth century asserted to be a better scheme.

It was more scientific, they said, that all men, all women also, should be equal, with equal duties, equal rights, equal opportunities, that one should produce as much as another, enjoy as much as another, and each and every one act with perfect freedom; yet not wholly for himself, but in an equal way and degree for the community at large, and this not by compulsion, but because of an innate sense of justice. That women should produce as much of national property as men, have the same liberty in kind and degree, should act, in fact, as though sex were one of the common properties and privileges of mankind with no particular aim but that of pleasure, and that to it, child bearing was only an incidental drawback. The children being, however, of a certain sort of civic usefulness, the penalty of bringing them up and educating them should be turned over as soon as nature would permit to the State, whose duty it should be to assimilate and subordinate them to the new system of human existence, the product of the antecedent revolution, or so much of it as could not possibly be brought about by previous manipulation of the public mind. The parent has, therefore, in the new scheme, no preponderance over any other citizen; nor any more influence in the brand new government.

This leaves the way clear for every man and women to be equally the possessor of the common property of the State, and the non-worker, and the full worker, the man or woman without capacity, the unit with only half capacity and the full ambitious soaring soul, if any such exists under Socialism, are all on a dead level of circumstance and opportunity. Variety there would be none. If two opposing opinions were held by two different geniuses, there might or there might not be a battle, depending upon whether the socialization of such units were more or less complete. If two men had laid admiring eyes upon the same woman, or, let us say, two women had desired the same man at least for a season, or as a temporary test of rivalry, the anomalous "State" of which we hear so much and so weighty mention made, would be called upon to decide the question. Any law bearing upon the subject would be an infringement of personal liberty and, therefore, not to be tolerated.

Opinions, women, that perhaps is a fair sample of the most prominent causes of difference in the Socialistic government if it were to be adopted as a whole, by our race, as it is now constituted. At any rate, all are to be equally useful to the community, all equally receiving from it equal means of welfare and happiness. All made free of poverty with its blessings, with riches and their temptations, the whole race exempt from sin and sorrow, from want and woe, by the simple fact of equally good fortune and perfect liberty of action bestowed upon them by the State.

It seems to some old fashioned people, born before Socialism was widely known, that this "State" which is to have so much thrust upon it in the new and somewhat mysterious condition of things, is not unlike what children in the old time were taught to think of as God, wanting simply omnipotence and the moral and spiritual element. For it is to be understood that no good Socialist belives in God, or His power and providence over the world.

It would have been better for the philosophers if they could have had a brand new world on which to exploit their scheme of government, instead of having to exhibit it upon this same old world which has been spinning around the sun ever since chance or primal force, or whatever power it was that first set it in motion.

It seems to have had some unchangeable principles impressed upon it which it is difficult for a beginner's first attempt to set aside, no matter how new and well devised it may be. One of these is sex. Socialists make little of it, as we have seen, but somehow, when one comes to work with it and make it over to meet the wants and ways of the new science, it presents its difficulties. For instance, how is the work of men and women to be made the same, or even equal in the bearing and rearing of those children who are so necessary to the continuance of the race, even after revolution shall have made all government so scientific and so simple? This is a question which men scarcely think it necessary to ask at present or they answer it by saying that women will be given all the political privileges which accrue to men, and as for the rearing of children, the State will assume all that responsibility. But still the intuitive women will be reluctant, and the educated women will ask questions. It may be conceded that a revolution will sometimes overturn the forms of human government, but scarcely any force known to man will change the settled laws of nature and of all the processes of natural evolution, that of child bearing, is the most fixed and unchangeable, and child bearing which comes before child rearing, is the most indispensable and inalienable work of woman. If, in the political world, women are to receive equal consideration with men, what service will men give to the State, which will compensate women for the daily cares, the night watchings, the long continued and often painful self-sacrifices of the prospective mother? We do not ask that man shall bear half the children, since that is a privilege which nature has peremptorily denied him. In fact, we should, having the best good of the race at heart, hardly permit this, lest it be found that, with his coarse and strong nature, he might not be worthy; but we do wish to be told what sacrifice he can possibly make, greater or worthier than that which present day civilization requires of him—namely, that he should be the faithful and untiring helper and

protector of the woman who is spending her days and nights bringing his successor into being, and so renewing the life of the world. This is the old fashioned interpretation of sex. What has the new system of the philosophers to offer when it has achieved its revolution that is more sensible, more straightforward, of greater benefit to man, to woman, to the world as it was made in the beginning, than this, even though this simple system perpetuates the home, authorizes private property, makes political duties unsuitable to woman and upsets Socialism generally?

We women "pause for a reply"!

We maintain that Woman Suffrage is ever an element of weakness rather than strength to a State, for this reason:

Because it is an injustice to require of woman double duty, namely, the doing of her own and man's duty as well. If, for instance, she bears the warriors and then, as Suffrage claims, either goes to war herself or does some other duty required by war, she is doing double duty. If she does not do this, where does her "equality" come in?

Doing a commensurate duty is not the demand of Socialism or Woman Suffrage, but of the old idea of sex created "in the beginning" when woman was made inalienably the "mother" of the race, and had her own duties given her which were from the first quite unlike those of men. That she should do both these duties was never expected nor required of her. Such injustice cannot possibly be the foundation of a stable State. Suffragists declare that when women vote there will be no more wars, but woman has ever been a good fighter—by proxy.

If women bear all the children as nature inevitably demands of them, and do half the work of the world besides, as Socialism requires, that again is a manifest injustice, which is even now resulting in a serious evil. When 6,000,000 of women and girls do the work which it belongs to an equal number of men and boys to do, all in pursuit of "equal work and equal pay"—though they never get the latter—at least that number of males are thrown out of employment. Homes thus become fewer and as statistics plainly prove, the children born of such homes are inferior, both mentally and physically; imbecility and general decrepitude increase alarmingly, and in the end ambition and incentive are taken from both men and women alike. The statistics of various of the States, notably of New York, have established this conclusion. If women are to keep up the standard of children, improving the race from generation to generation, the men must do the work which supplies the homes and carries on the enterprises of the world. Study and investigation prove that the original division of the labor of the sexes as ordained by the Maker of the world, is amply justified, even in this latter day, as opposed to the man-made schemes of Socialism.

Chicago, Oct, 1913.

Regardless of Law

By Mrs. William Forse Scott

THERE has been much confusion in the public mind in regard to the operation of the law covering the exclusion of aliens from this country, as applied to Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Pankhurst herself is not important. She is merely a much exploited law-breaker. Her entrance into this country might be to the advantage of the opposition to Woman Suffrage, and there was undoubtedly a temptation to "oil the tracks" for her coming rather than to oppose it. But that is not the question. The Guidon Club wishes to go on record in every division, as holding by the law as it exists. If the law is not a good one, let it be repealed by all means; but while it stands in the statute books, let it be enforced.

In all of the discussion I have seen no statement of the statute itself. It is simple and explicit, and at least one section of it leaves no room for discretion. See 2 of the Immigration Act, names among those to be excluded, "persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude!"

The phrase "moral turpitude" has so far been considered the crux of the question, and, in the last resort, the Secretary of Labor is assumed to have discretionary power under the law. But this latitude does not extend to Section 38 of the same act. This reads—

"That no person who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting of any officer of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his official character, shall be permitted to enter the United States."

Moreover under this same section, the advance agent of Mrs. Pankhurst and those inviting and assisting her to come, are equally guilty with her. For the law reads—

"Any person who knowingly aids or assists any such person to enter the United States, or who connives or conspires with any person or persons to allow, procure or permit any such person to enter therein, shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars or imprisonment for not more than five years, or both."

This section leaves no room for discretion on the part of any one.

One of the powerful incitements to opposing the demands of the women seeking the Suffrage is the fact that these demands are made regardless of the law. We women urge that, under the present strain of excitement, the laws should be more and more earnestly upheld by the conservative and sane elements of society.

An illustration of this lawless state of mind is given by Mrs. Pankhurst when she expresses surprise that she is not allowed to land "in what has always been described to me as a free country." Again she says: "I would not allow unjust detention in England, and I will not suffer

it in the United States." Her admirers in this country support her in this lawless attitude toward our government.

How can the women who so defy law ask to become makers of law!

Post Suffrage

From the New York Times.

When the last of the hikers has hiked it ;
  When the vote is quite sexless and stale;
When the last of the hungry has striked it,
  When gone are both jailer and jail;

When the militant women have melted,
  When their vote has been captured and cast;
When no more they are punished nor pelted—
  PERHAPS—we'll have quiet at last.

When at breakfast we pick up our papers,
  And read not of bomb nor parade,
When all of your militant capers
  Are gone like a passing charade—

Dear Women, with what new invention
  Will you worry the public then?
And will ever the slightest attention
  Be paid to long-suffering men?

MARCUS HANLEY.

Woman Suffrage in California

By Miss Kate C. Towle

CALIFORNIA IS about 750 miles long by 250 miles wide, and in 1910 (the last census) had but 2,377,549 inhabitants. The Suffragists of the State came into possession of the vote just after the old political order had passed and at a time when the policy of the State was undergoing a rapid and radical change. The changes have been along the lines of Socialist teaching and the Suffragists have the influence of the entire Socialist Party behind them. The northern part of California defeated Suffrage, but the southern half carried it through. Northern California is largely composed of the descendants of the "Argonauts," who came in the days of the "Gold Fever." Southern California might be called a suburb of the Middle West. From this section the most ardent Suffragettes have come. All Mormons are Suffragists, and there are living in California some 60,000 Mormons, subject to the wishes of the Prophet at Salt Lake City. He influences enough votes to control most elections. The Mormon church allows the practice of poligamy. All the Western States that have Woman Suffrage are also entirely or partially under the political control of the Mormons. So these Suffrage States augment the political power of the Prophet at Salt Lake. The majority of Califoria women did not desire the vote and wherever it is possible to obtain the figures from the registrars' offices it appears that they do not now use it.

At the first meeting of the State Legislature since women had the vote women worked both for and against an amendment to the eight hour law which makes it include in its provisions under-graduate nurses. The bill passed and was signed by Governor Johnson, but it is to

be fought by women in the courts as unconstitutional. It is claimed that the amendment interferes with the business interests of women who are making a living by conducting hospitals.

The women claim the defeat of a State Senator as their victory, but his defeat came after Governor Johnson's election (due to the men) had destroyed the political machine of which this Senator was a part. They also claim that they recalled Judge Weller. Why Judge Weller any more than any other police court judge has never been explained. For the recall of Judge Weller was based upon the pernicious practice common among the police courts of San Francisco, by which a judge of one court reduced the bail fixed by the trial judge of another.

The last Legislature passed the red-light abatement act, and its passage was also due to the women. This act does away with the segregated district and Municipal clinic in San Francisco. Whether good or evil, the red-light abatement bill will come before the voters of California for recall.

The principal evening paper of San Francisco, The Bulletin, with the daily signed approval of three prominent Suffragists, for several weeks gave nearly a full page to the publication of the so-called confessions of a woman of the underworld. The sordid tale of her fall which resulted from neither deception nor poverty was spread broadcast for boys and girls of all ages to read. The wretched details of this disgusting story were supposed to have an uplifting effect on the morals of the community! Advertising pays. If not in one business why not in another?

The last California Legislature passed a reactionary law that points the road that equal rights and lost privileges are sure to travel. The law reads: "For Civil injuries committed by a married woman, damages may be recovered from her alone, and her husband shall not be liable therefor, except in cases where he would be jointly liable with her." It is Section 171a in the Civil Code. It will be seen that a wife without personal property to pay a fine would have to serve a prison sentence.

The Civil Code has thus far given equal rights to man and woman, or, when not equal rights then the privileges were in the woman's favor. Without the vote, California women have always been able to get whatever legislation they wished for their own needs. With the assistance of the Union Labor Party they obtained the Eight Hour labor law for women, both for and against an amendment to which women are now working.

Were it not for the general protection accorded to women in the past the Suffragette of today would not exist. They are simply the by-product of previous centuries of protection by men. And the Suffragists are still protected from themselves, and the logical results of their teachings by the age-old chivalry that still exists, but for how long? When the Suffragists tread the old ideals under foot they should have something better to offer than a slip of printed paper.

For equal rights plus privileges minus the vote and minus equal rights plus duties plus the vote. Thus the vote equals the duties of men minus the privileges of women, and the franchise will reduce the privileges of women though it does not the strength of men.

Letter from Owen R. Lovejoy

The following letter is in response to an inquiry as to an "International Committee on Child Labor" frequently quoted by Suffragists:

New York, July 17, 1913.

Miss Helen S. Harman-Brown,
Box 1526, New Canaan, Conn.

Dear Madam:

In reply to your inquiry of July 10th, I beg to say that as far as we have any record there is no "International Committee on Child Labor." There is in the International Association for Labor Legislation a Commission, numbered "Commission 5" on "Treatment of Foreign Workmen under insurance legislation;" "Child Labor" and one or two other topics.

Regarding the child labor law in Colorado and other Western States, may I say, as I have said to many of my friends on both sides of this Suffrage controversy, that it is perfectly futile to try to argue either for or against Woman's Suffrage on a comparison of child labor laws in a new Western State with laws in our older and more highly organized industrial States. The subject of child labor legislation is entirely new throughout the West and our efforts to secure standard laws there are based on the principle that if we get them enacted before opposing interests become strong, we shall not only save much labor by and by, but in the meantime help afford protection to the few children directly effected.

But it is as unfair for a Suffragist advocate to claim that the child labor laws of Colorado are better than those of Pennsylvania because women vote in Colorado, as it is for an anti to claim that the child labor laws are poorer than those of Ohio or New York because women do not vote in the latter States.

The Colorado law is particularly good in the following respects:

1st: It sets a 14 year age limit in seven general occupations and a general 14 year limit during school term.

2nd: It provides the eight hour day for all under 16 years (14 other States, Porto Rico and the district of Columbia also have the eight hour day.)

3rd: It prohibits night work for all under 16 (30 other States, Porto Rico and the District of Columbia also prohibit night work).

The Child Labor Law of Colorado does not specifically prohibit street trading under as stringent rules as those of Wisconsin, but there is another law which prohibits contributions to the delinquency of children by which Colorado in practice maintains as high standards. There are other details in which comparisons may be made, but perhaps these are sufficient.

But as I have indicated above, in any discussion of Colorado's Child Labor Laws should be noted that the Census of 1910 reports only 165 children under 16 years in manufacturing pursuits. This is six per cent of all factory workers. The problem therefore is of slight significance compared with that in the older States.

Sincerely yours,
OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

The Vote in Australia

Significant Criticism

THE following letter from a well-informed correspondent on the working of woman suffrage in Australia deserves attention. It is in striking contrast with the vague generalities doing duty as suffragist arguments that would attribute everything of good that has happened within the Commonwealth during the last ten years to woman suffrage:—

DEAR MADAM,—

You ask me as an educated woman, a woman of property, and a political worker, to give you my candid opinion on the results won for women by the vote in Australia.

I must first state that I approve of the principle of franchise being given to educated widows or single women having property—i. e., if upon careful thought, I can honestly say that such franchise will not lead to results which will be seriously harmful to my country. If the giving of this limited vote leads to results which will prove injurious to the whole community, I have at least sufficient patriotism to say I do not want the vote.

INDIFFERENCE OF WOMEN ELECTORS

The women of Australia have now had the vote for the States or the Commonwealth Parliament for at least ten years. During those ten years a large number of intelligent workers have steadily and consistently worked to educate the women to vote thoughtfully. They have held women's meetings in halls, drawing-rooms, and cottages. The following are the percentages of women voters to women electors enrolled in New South Wales for the Commonwealth Parliament:—

	For Senators.	House of Representatives.
1903	41.16	43.08
1906	43.90	44.87
1910	54.21	54.71

Of these results a large majority would represent labour, and of the rest the greater number would be women of the upper class and the upper middle class—of the 45 per cent. who did not record their votes the greater number would be middle class women, shop girls, tradesmen's wives, clerk's wives, etc.—women who have no stake in the country.

To my own knowledge at one of the last State elections a large business house gave its 200 female employees a half holiday in order that they might vote—25 girls recorded their votes.

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

Before the women had been enfranchised in Australia there had never been a Labor Government; since then every State except Victoria has been governed by Labor. There is no question but that this result has been achieved by means of the women's vote.

But you ask me what results for good have accrued to the women through their votes. I am sorry to say I cannot point to one single instance during the whole ten years where the women's vote has

been organized and concentrated to obtain benefits for the women. I know women lecturers professing to know all about Australian politics have said in England that the women's vote had done away with sweating. We women in Australia laughed at these wild statements, especially some of us who knew that the lecturers had never, to our knowledge, even attended a political gathering.

The Minimum Wage.

Before the vote was given to Australia a very noble woman worked so hard in the cause that the most useful laws were given to protect women and children from sweating in at least one of the States, and through the efforts of the Labor Unions laws about a minimum wage have been passed—without women interfering in the matter. Where the women are organized in Australia the great majority are organized by and for the men's leagues. They work under them, and vote for them. Let me quote from a very powerful address given to a large gathering by an Australian lady—Miss Rose Scott—who had done more in the cause of woman's Suffrage than any other woman in Australia, and who showed her unselfish aims and ends by working incessantly in the cause of the women and children before she got the vote (in fact, she gained more for them without the women's vote than has ever been even attempted since the franchise was given).

Miss Rose Scott's Views.

A recent article in a German newspaper declares that Australian women are quite happy, having all they want. This would, if true, be a content very far removed from that "Divine discontent" which aims at perfection.

True, Australian women have the vote—but the vote is only a tool, and the question is how has this tool been used in the past, and how will it be used in the future? Let us hope it will not be used as it has been too frequently, merely to add to the strife of nations and the building up of class hatred, but to help those women and children whose misery and suffering is our continual reproach.

Ladies, I do not speak of what I do not know, and of what I have not seen. And we enfranchised women, happy and comfortable in our homes, why have we not yet won all these rights for our fellow women? We with our vote that we have had for ten years?

Here, again, comes in the eternal sex question, and it shows that the great majority of women have chosen rather to serve men at election time than work to ameliorate the wrongs endured by their own sex.

We see Government program after Government program—men's needs, interests or fads always first, women's nowhere. Before the Woman Suffrage cause was won these reforms I have indicated were most of them advocated as reasons for the woman's vote. And, even now, if women would only combine and work for these reforms, and stand apart from parties and factions, there is nothing that they would not be able to accomplish for their fellow women and children.

This quotation confirms what I have already stated of facts which came under my own observation.

It saddens me more than I can say to see the strife, the idleness, and the great degredation of womanhood which is the outcome of this question of woman's vote. English women, American women,

Canadian women all have told me that much really good work has been put aside and neglected because of this foolish infatuation. Had one-tenth of the money, the organization, the energy, which has been spent stirring up strife, trampling under foot God's laws, injuring the poor and the innocent,—if one-tenth of this outlay had been spent in fighting the wrongs of women and children, England would be the happiest country on God's earth. Deserve the vote, and then ask for it.

—The Anti-Suffrage Review, London.

Gardner Against Suffrage

A new element was injected into the State campaign today with the announcement by Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, Republican candidate for Governor, that he was opposed to woman suffrage.

His attitude was made known when he was asked to pass upon a tentative platform to be presented at the State convention next Saturday. The committee on resolutions had prepared a plank favoring an amendment to the Constitution which would give the ballot to women.

Congressman Gardner said: "Personally, I shall not vote for woman suffrage if the question is referred to the people."

Three years ago a party of women suffragists followed Lieut. Gov. Louis A. Frothingham, who headed the Republican State ticket, through the State and persistently heckled him on the question of their political rights.

Mr. Gardner also withheld his approval of a plank favoring certain expenditures by the Federal Government for waterways but endorsed the remainder of the platform.—Ex.

"God Against Suffrage" Declares Prohibition Leader

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Georgia is having nothing to do with the agitation for woman suffrage in the State, according to Mrs. L. C. Gilreath, state evangelist of the Union, who spoke here this week. During her address at the Methodist church she remarked that neither herself personally nor the organizotion were after the vote, and that most of the women were not in favor of it. Going further, she stated that she thought it was wrong for a woman to vote, inasmuch as God had given her a specific place in the world and she should not leave that place for some other one where she does not belong. In her opinion, it would be a calamity to the country for women to get into politics, and she was against it, both herself and the organization which she represented.

It was apparent from her statement that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Georgia does not like the way some people have of connecting their Union with that of the woman suffrage propaganda, and they do not like to leave any chance for this kind of an idea to be accepted as the truth. They desire to make it clear that they are not for woman suffrage.—Atlanta Constitution.

Home Menu of a Suffragette's Husband

BREAKFAST

Shell-less Eggs (canned—ready to eat)
Bacon (ready to serve) Bread (baker's)
Coffee (from extract—add lukewarm water and serve)

LUNCHEON

Fish (canned sardines) Roast beef (in tablet form)
Milk (malted)

DINNER

Soupless Soup (canned) Shrimp (guess who the shrimp is)
Wrest of Lamb (a la tough)
Suffragette Salad
Canned pie Canned ice cream
Ballot-box cheese
One coffee bean (make your own coffee)

An Old Song to a New Tune

"Woman's Rights"

Ay, she hath her rights—deny them not,
  Ye skeptics who disown her sway.
Rights with which God invests her lot,
  Imperial rights—deny who may.

Not hers to guide the car of state,
  Or awe the world with sword or pen.
Not hers to rise in loud debate,
  Alike the scorn and scoff of men.

But hers are rights which none may dare
  To wrest from out her Maker's hand.
They date far back as Eden's air,
  And onward while the world shall stand.

Her birthright is the true respect
  All true born men will gladly pay.
Her right, that falsehood or neglect
  Shall never steal her bloom away.

Her right, the chivalry sincere,
  Which makes her first at hearth and board—
Her right, that never to her ear
  Should come th' impure or impious word.

It is her right to mould and make
  The boy's young spirit bold and free,
And teach him, for his manhood's sake,
  All that a virtuous man should be.

To bid him seek a purer meed
  Than e'er was won by boasted power,
Be true in thought, in word, in deed,
  And BRAVE in danger's fearful hour.

To emulate the good, the wise,
  Press upward, onward to the goal,
With hand outstretched to grasp the prize,
  Which only can reward the soul.

The Mother's right it is to feel
  That Heaven ordained her sweet employ,
While after years will oft reveal
  In some good man, her own fond boy.

It's man, whose every act in life
  Is with his mother's precepts fraught.
It's man, whose lips with wisdom rife
  Shall echo what his MOTHER TAUGHT.

Not in herself, but through her son,
  The nation's welfare may she guard.
BY him, her valiant deeds be done—
  IN him, her fame, and her reward.

Who, then, shall doubt our "Woman's Rights?"
  Dear to our hearts they still shall be—
No skeptic's laugh our soul affrights—
  Nor shames our glorious destiny.

In council true—in danger bold—
  Let man stand first, as first he should—
While we in happier sphere shall hold
  The honored rights of womanhood—

Liquor Interests After Women Voters

The liquor interests of Illinois are organizing women voters on a "personal liberty" platform. It became known today that the United Societies for Local Self-Government are attempting to enlist the wives and daughters of their members in the fight for "personal liberty."

According to Leopold Neumann, chief organizer of the United Societies, the campaign has reached such a stage that it can be carried through to success on any local issue on a month's notice.

"Afraid of woman suffrage?" said Neumann, "I should say not. I am glad to have it. Instead of 180,000 votes we will have 500,000 at the next election. The women in the families of our members will be with us, and they'll vote, too.—Ex.

In London

If they keep talking as they do,
  Continuing their threats,
Which we know can't be carried out,
  We'll dub them bluffragettes. —Ex.

Book Reviews and Notes

SAMANTHA ON THE WOMAN QUESTION, by Marietta Holley.—Fleming H. Revel & Company. $1.10

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT, by Ellen Key.—G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.

THE UNREST OF WOMEN, by Edward Sanford Martin.—D. Appleton & Company. $1.00

The three books mentioned above present the greatest possible contrast. Wit is a fine weapon for the presentation or defense of a cause or as an exposer of social sins and the follies of society. About the middle of the last century a woman in Central New York used this weapon skillfully and with fine effect. In "The Widow Bedott Papers" Frances Miriam Whitcher proved a social reformer and won a lasting reputation for herself. Marietta Holley has nothing in common with Frances Whitcher, except the general locality of her home and her effort to be humorous in the portrayal of what seem to her to be social wrongs. In Miss Holley's book, through the familiar Samantha, the author sets forth a jumble of woman's rights and temperance that appears to be wrong and intemperate in every particular. The humor is course, the matter is repulsive in incident, unnatural in method, and untrue in statement. The following is a typical sentence: "But when the little girl wuz a baby he [the father] took to drinkin', neglected his bizness, got mixed up up with the whiskey ring, whipped Serepta —not so very hard. He went accordin' to law, and the law of the United States don't approve of a man's whippin' his wife enough to endanger her life, it sez it don't. He made every move of hisen lawful, and felt that Serepta hadn't orta complain and feel hurt." "And then he parted with her and got her property and her two little children." The vulgarity of this paragraph is outdone by its falseness to any legal or actual situation in the United States or in this State. It makes one feel that the author had "got mixed up with the whiskey ring."

To step from Samantha's views on the Woman Question to Ellen Key's presentation of the Woman Movement is like stepping from a mudpuddle into a glacial torrent. Ellen Key's thoughts are limpid, her intellectual emotions are passionate in movement, her language is pure; but her soul is the soul of a materialist from whose thought and experience the deepest inner life seems absolutely hidden. Ellen Key has coined the expressive term "amaternal" for the whole body of Suffragists who apply no other standard to woman's work and life than that it be like man's and be judged by the same standards. She considers that it is through these "hybrids" who think that woman should be enabled to perform at the same time the life-work of a woman and a man, that "our time is so filled with the tragic vicissitudes of women." She says: "When men advance as an argument against woman's rights the fear that women will lose their womanliness in public life, the older feminists answer that womanliness, especially motherliness, is rooted too firmly in

nature to make it possible for this danger to exist;" and she adds: "Nothing has, however, become more clear in our amaternalistic time than that motherliness is not an indestructible instinct." Thus far can this socially and spiritually blind woman go, and no further. She says: "All women's rights have little value, until this one thing is attained: that a woman who through her illegitimate motherhood has lost nothing of her personal worth, but on the contrary has proved it, does not forfeit social esteem." She does not perceive that the remedy proposed by her would destroy not only fatherhood, home, family and orderly and decent society, but every thing that makes motherhood other than a hideous deformity. Another view taken by the author is typical of the advanced feminist movement, namely this: "Only when society recompenses the vocation of mother can woman find in this a full equivalent for self-supporting labor." The author is a clear definer, and here lies the real value of her book. She says: "Socialism and the woman movement are two mighty streams which drag along with them great parts of the firm foundations which they touch. Through Socialism feminism has penetrated the masses." This is the conclusion (and the millenium) as she sees it—a society in which the "welfare" of the new generation is the center." "Children born of parents whose souls and bodies are qualified for a worthy parenthood. Mothers won back to husbands, the children, the homes, but under such circumstances that as free human personalities they perform the most important work of society—the bearing and rearing of children. Fathers with time and leisure to share with the mothers the task of education." Free love is to create saints.

We are today making a brave beginning at this. Motherhood pensions, old-age pensions, minimum wage, state motherhood, trial marriage, affinity marriage, free divorce, state care of children, sex teaching in the public schools, sex teaching by mothers,—these are either on the statute-books or loudly demanded by Suffragists. The only obstacles in the way appear to be, human nature, and divine intention.

In the concluding chapter—The Woman Movement in its Influence upon Motherhood—the author says: "Even the initial maternal functions, nursing and physical care, involve a culture of the spiritual life of the mother, not only through an increase in tenderness, but also in observation, discrimination, judgment, self-control; a woman's character often develops more in a month during which she is occupied with the care of children, than in years of professional work. Mother love and the reciprocal love which it awakens in the child not only exercise the first deep influence on the individual's life of feeling, but this love is the first form of the law of mutual help—it is the root of altruism, the cotyledon of a now widely ramified tree of "social instinct." Again she says: "The division of labor must on the whole remain that which hitherto existed, if the higher development of mankind is to continue in uninterrupted advance to more perfect forms. It is necessary for these higher ends of culture that woman in an ever more perfect manner shall fulfill what has hitherto been her most exalted task: the bearing and rearing of the new generation." "It is of the utmost importance

that the son and the daughter should find the mother when they return to the paternal roof; that they should be able to breathe there an atmosphere of peace and warmth."

Who could conceive that the woman who wrote those sentences had also written just before them, the ones already quoted?

With her the spiritual means always the emotional intellectual, apparently. The inner life of faith in a divine communion and guidance is scoffed at as outworn superstition. Her final conclusion is that communistic evolution will produce the true individualistic physical and mental joy and peace.

After this book, Mr. Edward Sandford Martin's discussion of the woman question, under the title "The Unrest of Women," comes like a soft, cooling sea-breeze after ague and fever, and brings a glad consciousness of the fact that common sense still governs, and there is something to depend upon. Kindly and discriminating both as to the difficulties and the tendencies of the times, the writer's placid manner is eminently masculine in effect. In face of the feverish claim of suffragists that ballot success must follow business enterprise, he points out that in all this—professional as well as industrial life—woman is not on a par with men, because nature has made outside work man's vocation, but women's avocation merely. Then he comes squarely upon discussion of Ellen Key's ground that motherhood is her vocation, but, oh, how differently! Reverence and regard for nature and law are evident in every line. He would not and could not insult the womanhood he loves by admitting to his inmost thought for one moment the horrid conception that forms the basis of Ellen Key's future for the sex. He is much more lenient toward the would-be voters than the woman who thinks she knows them and has to contend against them can be. He especially inquires what else besides suffrage prominent suffragists demand? He asks Miss Thomas, Mrs. Belmont, Miss Addams, and Miss Millholland for their different points of view. He also takes a hint from Ellen Key.

"President Thomas, of Bryn Mawr, is a notable woman and an ardent suffragist. Perhaps from her address at the anniversary of the founding of Mt. Holyoke College, 'Woman's Part in the Future,' we may get an idea." He quotes: "Nor will marriage any longer disqualify women from following their life-work.—This has been done in the past only because men do not yet understand that women, like themselves, find their greatest happiness in congenial work." He comments: "In these words of Miss Thomas there is the suggestion that marriage is not, in itself, a sufficient career for able and educated women, and that it should not interfere with other work." He says, in his quiet way, "The ideal which seems to exist in the back part of Miss Thomas' mind, of a coming marriage where the wife will earn her own living and go her own gait, does not seem to me to be sound." We might add: "Is Miss Thomas a hybrid, or a perfectionist?"

He says: "When Mrs. Belmont says a document (the Constitution) that divides the people by the arbitrary line of sex is not in touch with modern growth, where is she? That was the way the Creator divided the people; and if He is not in touch with modern growth, it behooves

modern growth to connect with Him at its earliest convenience." Again Mr. Martin quotes Mrs. Belmont thus: "As a whole, women will some day emerge from the mere physical sex facts that now hinder them," and he says: "That was the Woodhull-Claflin idea, and one of the sisters wrote a book elaborately imputing a large share of the physical sex facts of women to the meddlesomeness of men. I guess not. Women have been women a long time, and their physical sex facts are not an invention on which the patent seems about to expire." He drolly says: "Mrs. Belmont does not seem to see things quite as they are." In closing, he draws a picture of a simple working woman in a street car which rests you to read, as it did him to see.

Of Miss Jane Addams he has what seems to the reviewer an exaggerated estimate. It is the ordinary view, but it belongs to those who have studied her work only superficially. While hearing her advocate the opening of the Chicago theatres on Sunday because "the greatest need of the poor is amusement," or seeing her forcing girls into trade unions, and marching the streets at their head, or sending an organizer from Hull house to the New York I. W. W., you learn sides of her that are generally unthought of. She went headlong into the Bull Moose party because she belonged, in even an ultra sense, with the political doctrines that lead to chaos. What a ticket this would be, for women's votes: For President, Jane Addams, of Illinois. For Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. Ladies first. With his customary honesty, after praising what he supposes to be her life interests, he says: "Beveridge's Federal child-labor law, which provided for denial of transshipment from State to State of commodities produced in factories in which child-labor was not properly limited and guarded, which to me seems scandalous, Miss Addams seems to have approved, as did most social workers." State Rights and the fabric of government appear to be nothing to her, and even parental and family rights to be very little, so much has she seen them abused. So much is she pushing, day and night, for the overthrow of government in behalf of the co-operative commonwealth.

Mr. Martin's discussion of the dual standard is refreshing in its simplicity. It means, finally, in his judgment, the bringing down of the standard of chastity for both sexes to what is supposed to be the man's standard. That is the apparent intention and the result of the suffrage ideal of "a sudden liberation of a sex" from "the conditions of bondage and restraint." The purity standard for men cannot be raised too high for Mr. Martin. The one set by Christ would suit his ideas, but the dragging down of the one present high standard means loss of pure ideals for all society.

In final discussion of cause and cure for the unrest of woman, he says: "It is part of the general disturbance, and can only be soothed by measures that will also pacify the rest of society. But politics will never do the whole business of pacifying human life." "The great agent in that is religion. It is on the spirit of Christ, working through individuals, and shaping and inspiring our politics, that we must count to straighten out the tangles in our affairs."

Press News and Notes

The most significant item in the public prints, bearing upon Suffrage opposition, comes from the Illinois journals. There is excellent reason to hope that the illegal, partial Suffrage measure in the State will be thrown out by the judges of the Supreme Court before whom it now is. The Illinois men, as well as women, opposed are working with zeal and intelligence.

The Suffrage fight has passed definitely into the field of social morals where it belongs. The political aspect serves only to furnish catch-words like "Votes for Women;" the true animus lies in the age-old attack of anarchy and Socialism upon popular government and domestic security. One of the latest and most serious issues is raised by the struggle in the Board of Education over the question of married women who have become mothers, remaining as teachers in the public schools. The position taken by the Board is that such women should not be retained, the ground being that it is against public morals on several counts. One is that the children of such mothers would be likely to suffer. That a mother who was willing so to leave her child to the care of another would not be likely to prove such a teacher as our public-school children ought to have. Also, that such an arrangement tends to lessen that natural and constitutional law which lays upon the husband and father the family support, thus giving man a sense of trust and responsibility, out of which is apt to spring qualities desirable for public work and for developing affection between husbands and wives and parents and children.

For these, among other reasons, the name of Mrs. Catherine Edgell, a teacher in Erasmus High School, has been dropped from the pay-roll. Also, the Board of Education has been served with a notice to show cause why Mrs. Bridget C. Peixotto, who was dismissed on October 8, for the same reason, should not be re-instated. The old and valid reason for the non-employment of married women as teachers, namely, that they take the places of women who may have no other means of support, seems almost lost sight of in the moral and governmental questions involved. It is a step, and a long one in that effort to secure woman's economic independence which is part of the dissolution of marriage and in favor of State support of women and children, which is the corner-stone of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

Items from California

The reactionary character of the Suffrage success is suggested by a law lately passed by the California Legislature. It reads, "For civil injuries committed by a married woman, damages may be recovered from her alone and her husband shall not be liable therefore, except in cases where he would be jointly liable with her." It will be seen that a wife without personal property to pay a

fine would have to serve a prison sentence. This is a logical, inevitable result of equal civil rights between husband and wife. The wife's privileges must go, if equal civil rights are to come. This is the first such measure passed in California, but it is in line with some others in Suffrage States. Let women ponder well this law made, purposely, to protect husbands (against wives).

Wherever it has been possible to obtain the figures from the registrar's offices the California women do not use the vote. That most of them did not wish it is well known. Northern California, which contains San Francisco and the University of California, voted against it. Southern California, which thrust it upon the State, was so largely Socialistic that Communes had long been among the institutions. The entire organization of the Socialist party was pledged to Suffrage, as well as the 60,000 Mormons of the State, governed from Salt Lake.

Of course the Recall is in full play in California. The women recalled Judge Miller. The reason given was that he unjustly reduced bail in the police courts. It seems to be a San Francisco practice for one trial judge to reduce the bail fixed by the trial judge of another court. It did not appear why women singled out this one.

The shameful travesty of justice which follows this radical legislation in all branches is suggested by the fast and loose treatment of the Social Evil in San Francisco. The Last Legislature passed the Red-Light Abatement Act, which did away with the segregated district. The act will come before the voters for recall.

England, 1913

Where are they now, the dear, dead women,
  Whose good deeds kindled the poet's fire?
They whose beauty was sung by minstrels,
  They whose fame tuned the singer's lyre?
Where are they now, the gentle ladies
  Whose love like a beacon showed a way
Where men might go to high adventure?
  Ah! where is the rose of yesterday?

Does there grow a rose in our later Summer
  Whose fragrance the later years will shrine?
Would men draw swords for General Drummond,
  Would the tourney be won for Emmeline?
And Christabel, with her sister Sylvia—
  Will fame of them tune the minstrel's lay?
Where are the sweet and gentle ladies?
  Where is the rose of yesterday?

The bard of today has a hard road to travel,
  No kisses and roses and sweet love lay;
He can sing but of brawls, sedition and arson,
  Plotting by night and tumult by day?
Gone is romance and glamour and rapture,
  Gone is the sweetness that men hold dear.
Where, oh, where are the gentle ladies?
  Gone with the snows of yesteryear.

Ah! ask me not where they are gone,
  Nor if their passing is for aye,
Except with this for an overword—
  But where is the rose of yesterday?

MARY MCMULLEN.

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